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HINDUS UNDER THE GHAZNAVIDS

S. Jabir Raza

Mahmud of Ghaznin is usually depicted as an iconoclast who destroyed temples and images in his zeal for Islam. Communal historians on both sides project him as a religious fanatic and a bigot Muhammad Habib's influentially work, Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin did substantially help to alter the popular projections of Sultan Mahmud and projected his expeditions as motivated by avarice and greed.¹ More recently Romila Thapar has shown that the destruction of Somnath was a political act and was perceived by the contemporaries in the same light.² This paper seeks to supplement the findings of both Mohammad Habib and Romila Thapar by looking at the Persian sources of the Ghaznavid period that have not yet been extensively utilized by historians of Medieval India, and studying the actual position of Hindus within the Ghaznavid empire, army and administration.

The Ghaznavid Sultans were able to tap the rich resources of India in terms of Treasure, tribute, and manpower (Soldiers and Slaves) derived from various places of northern India. In various Indian expeditions, Mahmud and Masud, acquired uncaptured Hindus as prisoners of war (barda) and slaves (banda) to Ghaznin from Lamghan, Peshawar, Bhatia, Thanesar, Nandana, Kannauj, Sarasati, Hansi and Sonapat.³ The enslavement of Hindus started with Alptigin,⁴ followed by his successor Sabuktigin who captured many as prisoners of War (barda) at Lamghan.⁵ In the battle of Peshawar, 100,000 men and women were taken as slaves by Sultan Mahmud.⁶ Besides Hindushahiya ruler Jaypala and fifteen members of his family.⁷ According to Farrukhi among the prisoners were two wives and two daughters of the Shahi ruler.⁸ Sultan Mahmud returned to Ghaznin from Nandana with so many slaves that the capital became like a city of India. The Hindu slaves become so cheap that even local porters (hammal), sweepers (kannas), camel drivers (jammal) and slave sellers (nakkhas) become masters (khwaja was khudaband) of the slaves.⁹ Likewise, 53,000 captives were bought back from Kannauj by Sultan Mahmud. Slaves merchants converged on Ghaznin from Iraq, Transoxiana and Khurasan and slaves could be bought for two to ten dirhems.¹⁰ According to Alberuni in central Asia there was a great demand of kumair people of wakwaka island as slaves.¹¹ In view of Alberuni, the newly employed Hindu servants were well versed in manners and customs bent they showed innate perversity. They ever placed shoes before their master in a wrong order, the right one to the left foot and Vice Versa. Likewise, in folding, they turned their master's garments inside out and spread the carpets so that the under part is uppermost.¹² However, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir speaks of cultured Hindu slaves: Once Sultan Bahram Shah bought a Hindu maidservant, who was beautiful, refined, well bred and cultured.¹³

The Hindus cultivated numerous branches of science and were good astronomers, mathematicians and physicians. In his *Kitabat-Sayadanah*, Alberuni explains that Hindu physicians employed a Hippocratic treatment

and used poisonous medicines. He cited evidence furnished by the son of a chief of Gardez that his father suffered from chronic piles. The muslim physician of Gardez tried every kind of medicine but did not succeed. By chance a Hindu physician happened to examine his father and assured him of cure. In a treatment, he cupped his father's back and the area of the kidneys was rubbed by the Indian aconite, drawing blood. When the wound began to heal the physician revived it. The treatment was repeated several times and his father's piles was cured.¹⁴ Likewise Gardezi in *Zain ul-Akhbar* refers to an incantation by a Hindu proving successful against snake bite.¹⁵ Regarding his own position among Hindu scholars, Alberuni points out that in the beginning he stood in relation to the Hindu astronomers as a pupil, since he was not acquainted with their peculiar national and traditional methods of science. In course of time when alberuni began to clarify to them the basics on which this science rests, and pointed out some rules of logical deduction and scientific methods, the Hindus flocked together around Alberuni and showed eagerness to learn from him. They began to consider Alberuni a Sorcerer. They discussed his knowledge with their learned men and termed him as a Sea (of knowledge).¹⁶

There were also Hindus in Ghaznavid service, both in civil and military administration. The Ghaznavids had a multiracial army, but the core of the army constituted mainly of Turks and Hindus. Nizam-ul-Mulk in *Siyasat Namah* records that Sultan Mahmud kept the various nationalities, Turks, Hindus, Khurasanis, Arabs, Ghurids and Dailamis in their separate ethnic groups and drew advantage from this diversity.¹⁷ Nizam ul-Mulk's account finds support from Sultan Mahmud's army composition. As a governor, Mahmud collected a large army comprised of Hindus and the khalji to support his father Subuktigin in the battle of Heart.¹⁸ As a ruler, Sultan Mahmud's army consisted chiefly of Tajiks and Hindus in the fight against the Khanids.¹⁹ And against Ilak Khan, the Sultan marched to Balkh with a strong army composed of Turks, Hindus, khaljis, Afghans and Ghuzz.²⁰

The recruitment of Hindu soldiers in the army of Muslim rulers dates back to Saffarids. The Saffarid Yaqub b. La'is employed a contingent of Hindu soldiers under the command of Tarabai Hindu, as the *Salar-i-Hinduan*.²¹ For the Ghaznavids, India served as the recruiting ground. Once Abdullah Qaratigin, the then *Salar-i-ghaziyan* at Lahore, suggested to Sultan Mahmud that if the Sultan desired, he may made addition to Hindu contingents with 10,000 foot soldiers and numerous cavalrymen.²² Alberuni adds that the Kamata troops of karnatadesha (Karnataka) were enlisted in the army of Sultan Mahmud and were known as kannara.²³

The chain of command of the Hindu soldiers reflected the general hierarchy of the Ghaznavid army. Below the Hajib-i-Buzurg, there was the *Sipahsalar-i-Hinduan* followed by *Salar-i-Hinduan*. The Salars commanded the *muqaddams*, the *naqibs* and the *Khalil* of ten horses.

The Hindu soldiers served the Ghaznavids both as footsoldiers and cavalrymen. Tilak as *Sipahsalar-i-Hinduan* commanded the Hindu troops consisted of both cavalry and infantry. The Hindus and Dailamis, as a permanent core, were prominent in the Ghaznavid infantry. As a cavalrymen,

the Hindus served the elite force. Once *Akhur Salar* Piri commanded the three thousand imperial mounted soldiers (*sawar-i-Sultani*) Composed of Turks and Hindus in equal numbers.²⁴ In the Poshang expedition, Sultan Masud's army comprised numerous Hindu troops of infantry and cavalry with branded horses (*Sawar-i-daghi*) under their renowned Salars (commanders).²⁵

The Hindu soldiers were placed in different wings in the battle field. Sultan Mahmud place Hindu troops in the centre (qalb) against Ilak Khan,²⁶ while in the battle of Sarkhas Sultan Masud placed five hundred Hindu cavalrymen in the 'rear wing' (*Saga*).²⁷

The slave corps of imperial army was known as *ghulaman-i-Saray*. The slaves comprised Turks, Hindus and some Tajiks, probably Khurasanis.²⁸ Kaikaus in *Qabus Namah* admires Sultan Mahmud's use of Turks and Hindus as palace guards (*ghulaman-i-Saray*) whereby he constantly overawed the Hindus by means of the Turks and the Turks by means of the Hindus.²⁹ The anonymous author of *Tarikh-i-Siestan* tells us that to suppress the revolt at Siestan (1003), Sultan Mahmud sent his imperial corps of palace ghulam (*ghulam-i-Saray Mahmud*), most probable the Hindu contingents. They behaved extremely savagely, sacking the Friday mosque of Zarang, massacring the Muslims and also killing the Christians in their Church.³⁰ Likewise Sultan Masud sent a Hindu Commander Tilak to suppress the revolt of Turkish Commander Yenattigin at Lahore. The Hindu force defeated able the Turkish troops and Tilak ordered them to mutilate such Turks as happened to be the friends of Yenattigin.³¹

The Hindu contingents were used as an escort force for incarcerated Turkish Commanders for there was no fear of their sympathising with the Turks. Sultan Masud overthrew two Turkish Commanders Aryaruq and Asightigin in 1031. When Aryaruq, after much persuasion, come to the court from Hindustan, he was arrested by the chiefs of the Hindu troops (*muqib-i-Hinduan*) with the support of 300 soldiers.³² The other commander Asightigin was captured and brought back to Ghazni. For his escort, the Sultan stipulated that 500 of the Hindu cavalry and infantry were to accompany him.³³ In the same year (1031) Sultan Masud arrested his uncle Yusuf b. Subuktigin who was sent away to a fortress with a guard of three *muqaddams*, three *naqibs* and five hundred Hindu cavalry (*sawar-i-Hindu*) together with three thousand infantry.³⁴

Although Hindu troops were held to be brave and loyal, the poor showing of the Hindu contingents at Kirman (1034) against the Buyids and at Dandanqan against the Seljuqs seem to have been isolated occurrences. In the Kirman expedition, the Hindus formed one half of the cavalry force, their being 2000 Hindus, 1000 Turks and 1000 kurds and Arabs along with 500 foot soldiers from each contingents. In the battle field, the commander Ahmad Ali Noshigin made every efforts but the Hindus showed feebleness and fled. The panic spread to the rest of the troops and Ahmad was forced to abandon the battle field. The Hindus fled to Siestan first and then returned to Ghazni. Baihaqi, Being an eye witness, informs us that the chiefs of the Hindus were kept in the dispatch hall of the *Diwan-i-Risalat* at Sad Hazara garden. Bu Said, the *mushrif* (accountant), brought several severe orders from Sultan

Musud. Finally, the Hindu chiefs (*muqaddam*) committed suicide with their daggers (*katara*) so that blood began flowing in the hall. Baihaqi and Bu Said informed the Sultan about the happenings. Sultan Masud said in anger that "they should have used these daggers at kirman". Rest of them were treated severely, but in the end they were freed.³⁵ The Hindu troops incurred similar disgrace at Dandangan when they fled before the Turkomans. However, here the Hindus were not more culpable than the rest of the army. The Sultan summoned the Hindus and reprimanded them. The Hindu chiefs (*muqaddams*) solemnly submitted that "we are ashamed to speak before our lord (*khudawand*) but, in fact, our men were hungry and our horses weak for it is now four months since we could not have sufficient flour and barley. Notwithstanding what has happened, as long as we live we shall not be found deficient." The Sultan forgave them all.³⁶

The Ghaznavid elephant corp was formed after the Indian expeditions. There was an imperial elephant stable (*pilkhana*) at Ghaznin and a staff of Hindu elephant drivers was employed under a *muqaddam-i-pilhanar*, who held the high rank of Hajib.³⁷ Saifud Daula Mahmud b. Ibrahim, the governor of Punjab (1076), organized *pilkhana* at Kannauj and appointed a Hindu Chand Rai as Supervisor of that stable.³⁸ Baihaqi records that in 1039, a group of ten Turkoman horsemen sneaked into the elephant stable at kunduz in night after killing four Hindu foot soldiers. They found a Hindu boy asleep on the neck of an elephant. The turkomans drove the elephant away. Then they awake the boy and threatened to kill him if he would not drive the elephant quickly. By morning, they had reached Saburqan and handed the elephant to Daud. Great discredit was incurred by this affair, for it was said that "Is there so much neglect amongst these men that they allow an elephant to be driven off?" The matter was reported to Sultan Masud who was exceedingly vexed and severely rebuked the drivers (*pilhanar*) and ordered one lac *dirams*, the price of the animal, to be recovered from them. Some of the Hindu elephant riders were also chastised.³⁹ Besides the regular army, the Hindu vassal chiefs also supplied the Ghaznavids with additional troops in times of emergency. Bahram Shah (1151) intercepted the Ghurid chief Ala'uddin with the contingents of the Hindu vassal chiefs *Rais* and *Ranas*.⁴⁰ Subsequently second time Hindu chiefs supported the rebel Ghaznavid governor Muhammad Ba' Halim, against Sultan Bahram Shah. The rebel governor is said to have obtained the military support of various Hindu potentates *Ranas*, *Thakurs* and leading chiefs of Hindustan.⁴¹ Occasionally, the Hindu feudatory chiefs used to send the Hindu troops to the Ghaznavid Sultans. By a treaty of 1009, the Indian ruler agreed to send a contingent of 2000 horse to serve Sultan Mahmud.⁴² Although the Jats of Panjab and Sind were not on good terms with Sultan Mahmud, yet in the reign of Sultan Masud on the call of a Hindu commander Tilak, the Jat contingent chased the rebel Turkish commander Yenaltigin and killed him.⁴³ The hill tribes of Khokhar of Jammu region formed the core of the army of the last Ghaznavid ruler Khusrau Malik (1184) in the struggle against the Ghurid Sultan Mu'izzuddin Muhammad b. Sam.⁴⁴

As for civil administration, Sultan Mahmud seems to have followed the principle established by Muhammad b. Qasim who had left the local

administration of the smaller areas in the hands of the Hindus.⁴⁵ The chief civil officer of Panjab Qazi Shiraz appointed Tilak as *amil* (tax collector) who used to collect taxes from the remote areas. Tilak was further promoted to a post in the central administration. He worked as *dabir* (secretary) and *mutarjim* (interpreter) for the Hindus under the Wazir Ahmad Hasan Maimandi during the reign of Sultan Mahmud. The other civil official, Birbal had also been appointed secretary and interpreter by Sultan Masud who placed him under Abul Fazl Baihaqi.⁴⁶

The Hindus were employed both in civil and military administration, especially during the reign of Sultan Mahmud and his successor Sultan Masud. Among the prominent Hindu governor and commanders the names of Sukhapala, Saundhrail, Hajrai, Nath and Tilak stand out conspicuously. These commanders held a very high position under the Ghaznavid Sultans.

Sultan Mahmud appointed Sukhapala as governor of the Ghaznavid Indian possessions in 1006. The contemporary chronicler Gardezi calls him 'Shukpal'.⁴⁷ While the thirteenth century writer Fakhr-i-Mudabbir refers to him as 'Sandbal' which seems another variant of the name Sukhapala.⁴⁸ However, the later historians record the name more correctly as 'Sukapala'⁴⁹ or 'Sukhapala'.⁵⁰ Utbi omits the name and simply mentions his epithet 'Nawasa Shah',⁵¹ which is being clarified by Gardezi who records his original name as 'Shukpala Nabasa-i-Shah',⁵² or, Sukhapala, the grandson of the Shah. As for Sukhapala's Muslim name after conversion, Jarbadhiquani records that he was named Aab Saar. Firishita supported Jarbadhiquani's evidence and twice call Sukhapala as Aab Saar.⁵³ Utbi calls him 'the son of one of the Indian kings' (*aulad-i-muluk-i-Hind*).⁵⁴ Firishita calls him 'the son of one of the kings of Hind' (*pisar-rajaha-i-Hind*).⁵⁵ However, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir explicitly mentions him as the grandson of Jaypala' (*Nabira-i-Shah Jaypala*).⁵⁷

Gardezi informs us that Sukhapala was among the prisoners of war captured by Abu Ali Simjuri from Mahmud at Nishapur.⁵⁸ Nazim suggests that Sukhapala was probably among those kinsmen of Jaypala who were left as hostages with Sabuktigin in 986-87 after the battle of Lamghan.⁵⁹ It seems that Sabuktigin sent these hostages of royal blood to Nishapur to be placed in the custody of Mahmud, the then governor of Khurasan. However, in April 995 Mahmud was driven out of Nishapur by Abu Ali Simjuri. The Victor took command of a few elephants and few soldiers of the Hindu contingent.⁶⁰ It is more likely that at this time, Sukhapala fell into the hands of Abu Ali Simjuri and was converted to Islam by him.⁶¹ Shortly in July 995, Mahmud attacked Nishapur and in a desperate battle many officers of Abu Ali Simjuri were made prisoners and were exchanged for the elephants which he had captured.⁶² Probably in these exchanged treaty, Sukhapala was also released and then joined the Ghaznavid armies.⁶³

Sukhapala accompanied Sultan Mahmud in Multan expedition (1006), and so was in the contingents of the Ghaznavid army when Mahmud, enroute to Multan, inflicted crushing defeat on his kinsmen Anandapala in the Valley of Peshawar. Sultan Mahmud then marched to Multan and captured the city. Meanwhile, he received the news of the irruption of Ilak Khan. He hurried

back to Ghaznin leaving the charge of the government of Multan and other Indian possessions in the hands of Sukhapala, who was made him his deputy and Vicegerent (*niyabat wa khilafat*) of India.⁶⁴ Probably by appointing Sukhapala as the first Ghaznavid viceroy of India, Sultan Mahmud wanted to govern his Indian dominion by and Indian of aristocratic background. The appointment of Sukhapala, a convert scion of the Shahis, in such a high position gave him an opportunity to retrieve the lost fortunes of the Hindushahiyas in the Peshawar valley, but instead of co-ordinating with his brother or cousin Anandapala, Sukhapala choosed the other way.⁶⁵ Taking advantage of the prolonged struggle between Sultan Mahmud and Ilak Khan, Sukhapala abjured Islam and raised the standard of revolt in winter (December, 1007). It seems that Sukhapala might have rebelled at the instigation of Ilak Khan. However, soon after Sukhapala ordered the Ghaznavid tax collectors (*amilan-i-Sultan*) to vacate the territory.⁶⁶

The news of Sukhapala's rebellion reached Sultan Mahmud in January 1007, while he was in pursuit of the vanguard army of Ilak Khan. The Sultan relinquished the pursuit and, undaunted by the severity of the weather, marched to India with a great expedition. Sukhapala is said to have offered some resistance but, finding it difficult to hold his ground against the superior number of the Ghaznavid army, he fled to Kashmir.⁶⁷ He was chased by the imperial army and was soon captured and brought before the Sultan Mahmud. Over the Sultan having exacted the sum of 400,000 *dirhams* from him handed him over to the treasurer Tigin (*Tigin-i-Khazan*) who kept him in prison till he died.⁶⁸

Sultan Mahmud promoted another Hindu Commander Saundhrail to the coveted post of *Sipahsalar-i-Hinduan*. He is variously referred to as Saundharai by Baihaqi and Garadezi,⁶⁹ Saundhrail Hindu and Suvendrai by the later historians Nizamuddin and Firishu respectively.⁷⁰ Soon after the death of Sultan Mahmud (1030), in the wake of succession, Saundhrail remained loyal to Amir Muhammad. When the Turkish troops commanded by Ayaz and Ali Daya defected to Muhammad at Ghaznin, the Amir sent Saundhrail with a large army of Hindu cavalry in pursuit of them. Saundhrail chased the defected Turkish troops and engaged them in battle. A conflict took place between the supporters of Muhammad and Masud. In course of fighting the Commander Saundhrail alongwith a large number of Hindu troops was killed, but not without a heavy loss on the side of the opponents. Ayaz sent the heads of Saundhrail and his lieutenants to Amir Muhammad.⁷¹

The other Hindu commander (*Salar-i-Hinduan*) during the reign of Sultan Mahmud was Hajrai,⁷² Bijirai,⁷³ or Hujri Tek.⁷⁴ Hajrai had rendered service in the Ghaznavid army and was raised to the post of *Salar-i-Hinduan* by Sultan Mahmud. Hajrai, however, escaped to India on account of some political dissensions with Masud. In India, he had taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmir. In 1048, Sultan Maudud sent Abu Ali Hasan, the Kotwal of Ghaznin with an army to suppress the rebel Indian chiefs. Having subdued the rebels of Panjab, Abu Ali advanced to the fort of Mahitah,⁷⁵ in the vicinity of Kashmir and seized the fort. Abu Ali then sent message to Hajrai, extended to him assurances and summoned him to his presence. After pledging his

faith to him, Abu Ali persuaded Hajrai to attend the Ghaznavid court again and sent him to Ghaznin. At Ghaznin, Sultan Maudud received Hajrai with all favour. Thus, Hajrai rejoined the Ghaznavid army.⁷⁶

One of the Hindu commanders of Ghaznavid army was Banh,⁷⁷ Banth⁷⁸ or Nath,⁷⁹ whose parentage is uncertain.⁸⁰ It seems that Nath joined the Ghaznavid army during Sultan Mahmud's reign and acted as *Salar-i-Hinduan* under Sultan Masud.⁸¹

In 1034, letters were received from Lahore that Ahmad Yenaltigin had collected vast amount of wealth in Banaras⁸² campaign and had begun to rule independently and besieged Qazi Shirazi, the then civil official of Panjab, in the fort of Mandkakur.⁸³ On receiving this news, Sultan Masud sent the Hindu commander Nath at the head of a large army to take immediate action against Yenaltigin. A battle took place between Nath and Yenaltigin and while uncounted soldiers from both sides were killed Nath too was killed and his army was defeated and routed.⁸⁴

Thereupon another Hindu commander Tilak⁸⁵ son of Jhalan was given the charge to suppress the rebellion of Yenaltigin. Baihaqi furnishes a detailed account of Tilak in his Tarikh. He was of Tilak humble origin, being the son of a barber (*hajjam*), but was handsome and enterprising, speaking and writing well both Hindi and Persian. In Kashmir,⁸⁶ he had spent a long time in learning javelin wielding, coquetry (*ishwa*) and witchcraft (*jadui*). From Kashmir, Tilak came to Lahore and met the then Ghaznavid officer Qazi Shiraz Bol Hasan who appoint him *amil* (tax collector). The Qazi used to send him to different parts of the Ghaznavid Panjab to collect revenue. However, knowing differences between the grand wazir, *khwaja-i-Buzurg*, Ahmad Hasan Maimandi and the Qazi Shiraz, Tilak contrived by stratagem to get the favour of Ahmad Hasan.

The grand wazir decided to liberate Tilak from the tutelage of the Qazi Shiraz. The khwaja sent royal orders (*tauqi-i-Sultani*) with three couriers (*khailtash*) and to the great disgust to the Qazi they took Tilak to the court. Having interviewed Tilak, khwaja decided to refer him to Sultan Mahmud in such a way that his own involvement could not be known. The Sultan permitted wazir to look into the matter. Thereafter, Tilak became one of the favourites of the Khwaja and enjoyed his full confidence. The Khwaja Ahmad Hasan made Tilak the secretary (*dabir*) and interpreter (*mutarjim*) between the Sultan and the Hindus. In a short time, Tilak acquired great influence in the Khwaja's *divan*. Baihaqi informs us that he ever saw Tilak standing before the Khwaja, engaging himself in receiving and dispatching messages to the dabirs and interpreter of the provinces. Later on, after the fall of Khwaja Abul Hasan, Sultan Mahmud summoned all the scribes (*dabir*) and servants (*chakran*) to select the best of them for the court. The Sultan was impressed with Tilak's intelligence and eloquence associated him with Bahram, a Persian official to work as imperial interpreter for the Hindus. Thus, Tilak made rapid progress in royal service.⁸⁷

During Sultan Mahmud's reign Tilak secretly allied himself with Masud against his brother Muhammad. It seems that, by the time, Tilak was

administering the region of Kator, in the Kafiristan province of Northern Afghanistan.²⁴ According to Baihaqi, Tilak rendered signal service to Masud by bringing all the Hindus of Kator and others to serve Masud. When Sultan Masud reached Balkh from Herat, where he assumed the Sovereign status, he appointed Tilak the commander-in-chief of the Hindu army (*Sipahsalar-i-Hinduan*), a post which was earlier held by Saundhrat. Tilak was honoured with gold embroidered robe (*khilat-i-Zar*), a jewel necklace of gold and the command of the Hindu Soldiers (*Khail*). Besides, he was allowed to have kettle drum beaten at his quarter in the fashion of Hindu chiefs. He was also granted the privilege of having banners with gilded tops. Now he was listed among the high noble (*a'yan*) joining the Sultan's inner circle (*khalwat*) and was entrusted with important duties and missions to perform. When Ahmad Yenaligin revolted in Lahore, Tilak was given the command of the army against Yenaligin at his own request.²⁵

Baihaqi narrates the event in detail and informs us that when message was received from Lahore regarding the conduct of Ahmad Yenaligin, Sultan Masud convened a consultative council with the nobles and the army commanders. There was an awkward pause when Masud asked who would undertake the task of crushing the rebellion. The Muslim nobles who understood the difficulty of the enterprise and disliked the Indian climate remained silent. Their silence was the opportunity of Hindu Tilak who offered his services being a native of Hindustan who knew the country and for whom the hot climate had no terrors. Impressed with him, the Sultan confessed privately that 'none of the officers had courage to take up this responsibility and thus failed to impress me with their loyalty and devotion. Perhaps Tilak felt ashamed of all of them and came forward to accept this challenge'.²⁶

After adjournment of the court, the Sultan secretly sent his secretary to Tilak with messages that "I shall assign the service to you. You will get money, a strong force and whatever is necessary so that you may be able to do the job aptly and rebellion may be suppressed." On hearing this imperial message, Tilak bowed down and kissed the ground and solemnly declared that "if this servant have found himself unable to perform this duties, he would not have uttered these words of courage before His Majesty (*Khudawand*) and the grandees of the court, I will present my p[er]son before Your Majesty for appraisal and soon proceed to destroy the rebel."²⁷

The secretary returned to the court and informed the Sultan. Being pleased, the Sultan ordered him to draft a letter of official engagements (*Shughul Nama*) and royal order (*misat*). The Sultan conferred the powers upon Tilak to do whatever he thought proper. The Sultan further honoured Tilak with a robe of honour (*Khila'at*), drums (*kos*) and flags (*alam*). Next day, the Sultan ordered an array of the soldiers in array (*a'biyah*) at Firozi garden. The Hindu army consisted of numerous mounted soldiers (*Sawar*) and foot soldiers (*piyadah*) with weapons. Tilak was given the command of the royal cavalry (*Sawaran-i-dargahi*), who were the best of the Ghaznavid army. Tilak then received an honorific title of '*Asp Salar-i-Hinduan*' and proceeded towards the Panjab.²⁸

In the month of July 1033, news was received that Ahmad Yenaligin had got control of the fort of Lahore. However, Tilak had advanced against him at the head of a large Hindu army. Yenaligin was seized with panic and there was friction among his troops. Sultan Masud immediately dictated a letter for Tilak and he was thus directed to move against the rebel with all speed.²⁹

Tilak marched rapidly to Lahore. Several Turks either soldiers or traders, were made prisoners on account of their closeness with Yenaligin, and Tilak ordered his men to cut off the right hand of the prisoners.³⁰ This ruthless action so terrified the rebellious troops that many of them deserted Yenaligin, surrendered to Tilak and sued for mercy. Ahmad Yenaligin was then pursued by Tilak and his Hindu soldiers. A battle ensued between the two armies. Yenaligin was defeated and forced to seek safety in flight. He was deserted by his Turkomans who were granted amnesty by Tilak. According to Gardezi, Yenaligin escaped towards mangurain Sind, but Baihaqi would have us to believe that he fled towards eastern Punjab and Haryana. Tilak however did not abate his pursuit and also announced a reward of five lac dirhems at the head of Ahmad Yenaligin. Tilak had also dispatched letters to the chiefs of the Jats³¹ to pursue the fugitive. In response, the Jats hotly pursue the rebel governor. According to Gardezi, Yenaligin wanted to cross the river Indus on back of the elephant but was drowned by a sudden flood in the river Indus. But Baihaqi records that one day Yenaligin wished to cross a river on his elephant when two or three thousand mounted Jats closed upon him. Yenaligin plunged into the river, but the Jats encircled him from two or three sides. The Jats captured his son and then attacked Yenaligin, killed him and chopped off his head. They even killed and took captives all of the followers of Yenaligin and captured immense wealth. Soon after, their chiefs contacted Tilak and asked for announced reward. The Jats agreed to receive one lac dirhems as their rewards and handed over the head and the son of Yenaligin to Tilak, who having achieved his object returned to Lahore. Now the civil and military administration of Lahore was reorganized. Then Tilak victoriously marched to Ghazni. This victory of Tilak was considered a great event, thus dispatches were sent in every province of the empire.³²

Tilak met Sultan Masud at Merv ar-Rud and reported to the Sultan about his completed task. The Sultan favoured Tilak with grant of insignia and umbrella (*chatar*). Among the prominent Hindu Muqaddams Tanak Hindu and Telgi were also present alongwith Tilak. In a victory parade, the Hindu army, cavalrymen as well as infantry, with fifty five elephants which Tilak collected as *khuraj* from the thakurs marched in front of the Sultan. Obviously fate befriended Tilak and he gained success after success.³³

Although the elevation of Tilak to such a high post and position annoyed the Muslim nobility, but Sultan Masud himself continued to extend favours to Tilak.³⁴ Echoing the Sultan sentiments, the wazir Baihaqi expresses his opinion that "Wisemen do not wonder at such occurrence because no body is born great, men became such. What matters is that men should leave a good name behind." Tilak's reputedly low status by birth was also overlooked. "Though noble birth is something desirable," says Baihaqi, "it does not favours

any way in the absence of the qualities such as learning, propriety and intelligence¹⁹⁰ Summarizing the whole account, Muhammad Habib opines that 'the career of Tilak, the Hindu, shows the rapidity with which Hindus and Muslims were both forgetting their religious differences in the service of a common king and the superbly oriental feeling of loyalty to the salt'.¹⁹¹

Hindus enjoyed considerably toleration under the Ghaznavids. The demographic distribution of the Hindus have supported in shaping the social composition of the Ghaznavid urban centres. Sultan Mahmud granted Hindus separate quarters in the imperial Ghazni¹⁹² and allowed them to observe their religion and religious ceremonies. Bombaci's discovery of a statue of Brahma in the excavations of a palace at Ghazni built by Sultan Masud III (1112) clearly supports the fact that Hindu forms of worship were respected.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Al-Ma'ari describes the scene of a Hindu woman's *Sati* in Ghazni in the reign of Sultan Mahmud.¹⁹⁴

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Muhammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, Aligarh 1927, Reprint Delhi, 1951.
2. Romila Thapar, *Somanatha: The many voices of a History*, New Delhi, 2004.
3. Cf. Abu Sharif Naseh b. Zafar Jurbadhqani, *Tarjuma-i-Tarikh-i-Yunani*, ed. Dr. Jafar Shuar, Tehran 1345, pp. 31, 209, 335, 386; Abul Hayy b. Abdul Zahhak, *Zam-ul-Akhbar*, ed. Abul Hayy Habib, Iran 1347, pp. 192, 200.
4. Abu Ali Hasan b. Ali Nizami Mulk Tusi, *Siyarat Naman*, ed. Scheffer, Tehran 1956, p. 177.
5. Jurbadhqani, p. 31.
6. *Idem*, 209; According to Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, ed. C.J. Torsberg, Beirut reprint 1965, Vol. IX, p. 70, 500,000 people were enslaved.
7. Jurbadhqani, p. 209; Gardezi, p. 177; Ustad Usuri Balkhi, *Diwan*, ed. Muhammad Dabir Sayaqi, Tehran 1342, p. 117; Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Habib, Kabul 1963-64, Vol. I, p. 229.
8. Abdul Hasan Ali Farukhi Sistani, *Diwan*, ed. M.D. Sayaqi, Tehran 1349, p. 64.
9. Jurbadhqani, p. 335.
10. *Idem*, p. 386; Gardezi, p. 179.
11. Abu Raihan Ibn Ahmad b. Muhammad Albersuni, *Tahqiq ma'ad Hind* Engl. Tr. Edward C. Sachse, *Albersuni's India*, London 1888, Vol. I, pp. 210, 211. Albersuni clarifies that the island of walwaka belongs to the Kumair islands. The Kumair was the name of the people, who were whitish and of black colour. They were of a short stature and having a built like that of Turks. They practiced Hindu religion and have the customs of piercing their ears.
12. *Albersuni's India*, I, p. 185.
13. Muhammad b. Mansur Mubarak Shah Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, *Adsh-ul-Barh Wash Shaja*, ed. Ahmad Suhail Khwansari, Tehran 1327, p. 42.
14. Albersuni, *Kutah al-Sayadanah fi Tih*, ed. Hakim M. Said and Rana Ehsan Ali, Karachi 1973, p. 8; Engl. Tr. Hakim M. Said, *Albersuni's book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, Karachi 1973, p. 5.
15. Gardezi, p. 287.
16. *Albersuni's India*, I, p. 23.
17. *Niswan-Namah*, p. 154.
18. Abul Fazl Muhammad b. Husain Baihaqi, *Tarikh* ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz & Revised by Muhammad Jafar Yabghi, *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Mashhad 1383, p. 215.

19. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, pp. 132-33.
20. Jurbadhqani, p. 285; Gardezi, p. 59.
21. Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Sisyan*, ed. Behar, Tehran 1314, pp. 227, 309.
22. Baihaqi, p. 608.
23. Albersuni's India, I, p. 173.
24. Baihaqi, p. 426.
25. *Idem*, p. 597; To prevent officers and Soldiers from deceiving the State, the horses were all branded with the Sultan's mark mentioned as *dagh* or *dingh-i-Sultana*. The *dagh* was usually made on the back and the thigh of the mounts at *dagh-gah*. Cf. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 333; Baihaqi, p. 600; *Diwan-i-Farukhi*, pp. 176, 220; Abul Faraj Rumi, *Diwan*, ed. M.M. Daughani, Mashhad 1968, pp. 24, 115; Masud Sad-i-Salman, *Diwan*, ed. Rashid yasmi, Tehran 1940, pp. 271.
26. Jurbadhqani, p. 286.
27. Baihaqi, p. 567.
28. *Idem*, pp. 432, 624; Also C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran (994-1040)*, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 101.
29. Kaikavus bin Iskander, *Qabus-Namah*, ed. R. Levy 1951, Engl. Tr. R. Levy, *A mirror for Princes*, London 1951, p. 134.
30. *Tarikh-i-Sisyan*, p. 357; cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 39, 110; S. Jahir Raza, *Tarikh-i-Sisyan: A Source for the History of the Early Ghaznavids*, Proceedings of the IHC, Sarameketan, 2006.
31. Baihaqi, p. 410; Gardezi, p. 200.
32. Baihaqi, p. 236.
33. *Idem*, pp. 232-33; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 110.
34. Baihaqi, p. 259.
35. *Idem*, pp. 407-8.
36. *Idem*, pp. 586, 587.
37. *Idem*, pp. 284, 567; Gardezi, p. 80; *Diwan-i-Farukhi*, p. 316.
38. *Diwan Masud-i-Sal, Salman*, p. 265.
39. Baihaqi, pp. 284, 567; Gardezi, p. 80; *Diwan-i-Farukhi*, p. 346.
40. Daulat Shah Samarqandi, *Tajikrat ush Shurora*, ed. Mohammad Abbasi, Tehran 1958, p. 85; Minhaj-i-Siraj, Vol. I, p. 346; Also Ghulam Mustafa Khan, *A history of Behram Shah of Ghazni*, Lahore 1955, pp. 204, 210.
41. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 378.
42. Jurbadhqani, p. 312.
43. Baihaqi, pp. 409-10; Gardezi, p. 200.
44. Minhaj-i-Siraj, I, p. 398.
45. Anonymous, *Chachnama*, Persian Tr. by Ali b. Hamid b. Abu Bakr al-Kufi, ed. N.A. Baloch, Islamabad 1982, p. 210; Also I.B. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, New Delhi 1971, pp. 206-7.
46. Baihaqi, pp. 385-86.
47. Gardezi, p. 179.
48. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 302, mentions Sandhal as the grandson of the Shah of Kabul (Jaypala) who revolted in Hind while Sultan Mahmud was engaged in Khurasan. This event has been recorded by many writers but the name of the grandson of the Shah is reported as Sukhapala.
49. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari* Nawal Kishore edition, n.d; vol. I, p. 6.
50. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishla, *Gulshan-i-Akbari*, commonly known as *Tarikh-i-Firishla*, Nawal Kishore edition, n.d; vol. I, p. 25; Abdul Qadir b. Malik Shah b. Hamud

- Badaoni, *Atwatkhah ul-Jawarikh*, ed. Lees and Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1868, vol. I, p. 12.
51. Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Jabbar Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini* ed. Ghulam Rasul Ibn Ahmad, Lahore, 1882, p. 223. Engl. Tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Aligarh reprint, vol II, p. 32. Jurbadhqani, p. 291. Utbi's Nawasa Shah apparently denotes epithet, but it is also likely that after his conversion to Islam Sukhapala was commonly called Nawasa Shah. *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, p. 393.
52. Gardezi, p. 179.
53. Jaafar Shuar in his edition, p. 291 n1, quotes other edition of *Tarjuma-i-Tarikh-i-Yamini* by Aaqai Qaveem which records that sukhapala was named Aab saar. Cf. Firishta, I, p. 26.
54. Utbi, p. 223; Jurbadhqani, p. 291; The authors of *Tarikh-i-Haidari*, DPB, p. 442 and *Tarikh-i-Aifi*, DPB, p. 809 have probably taken the information from Utbi and thus record the same phrase *aulad-i-Muluk-i-Hind*.
55. Firishta, I, p. 26.
56. Nizamuddin, I, p. 6.
57. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 302.
58. Gardezi, p. 179; Firishta, I, p. 26 Confused the place Nishapur with Peshawar.
59. M. Nazim, *The life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 98 n.1.
60. Utbi, p. 90; Jurbadhqani, p. 117; Gardezi, p. 179.
61. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 6; Firishta, I, p. 26.
62. Utbi, pp. 90-91; Jurbadhqani, p. 122.
63. Cf. Badaoni, I, p. 12.
64. Utbi, p. 223; Jurbadhqani, p. 291.
65. Cf. A. Rahman, *The Last two dynasties of the Shahis*, Islamabad, 1979, pp. 149-50.
66. Utbi, p. 223; Jurbadhqani, p. 291; Gardezi, p. 179; Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 302; Firishta, I, p. 26; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 6.
67. Utbi, p. 223; Jurbadhqani, p. 291; Gardezi, p. 179; Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, p. 302. According to Gardezi, Sukhapala fled to Kashmir to which Nazim, op.cit. p. 98 n.4 considers the Copyist mistake for khewia by which name the Salt Range is commonly known. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay 1957, vol II, p. 150, opines that the word represents Kishir in Kashmir while A. Rahman, op.cit. p. 150, equates Kashmir with modern Kashmir in Southern Baluchistan. M. Nazim, op.cit. p. 98, further opines that Sukhapala, probably, took refuge in the Salt Range in Panjab where his brother or Cousin Anandapala still maintained his authority. But it seems untenable, as they were not in good terms since Anandapala had not extended his support to Sukhapala when he revolted.
68. Gardezi, p. 179; Firishta, I, p. 26; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 6; Badaoni, I, p. 12.
69. Baihaqi, p. 403; Gardezi, p. 195.
70. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 11; Firishta, I, p. 40.
71. Gardezi, p. 195; Nizamuddin, I, p. 11; Firishta, I, p. 40. For Ayaz, see S. Jabir Raza, *The career and achievements of Ayaz, the Slave of the Sultan Mahmud I* (Unpublished). Presented at IHC, Srinagar, 1986.
72. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 15.
73. Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. vol II, p. 60.
74. Firishta, I, p. 46.
75. Nizamuddin, I, p. 15, while Firishta named it Mahtila (I, p. 46). Probably, it was the fort Mahiya in the vicinity of Kashmir to which Sultan Ibrahim recaptured in 1079. Cf. *Dewan Sud-i-Sultan*, p. 371. See also, Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay*, Indian edition, Delhi 1992, p. 63.
76. Firishta, I, p. 46, Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 15.

77. Gardezi, p. 200.
78. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 12.
79. Firishta, I, p. 42.
80. It is astonishing that Gardezi, p. 200, refers his parentage as Banh B. Muhammad b. Malli followed by Nizamuddin, I, p. 12. as Banth b. Muhammad Ali. Here Malli of Gardezi has been changed into Ali. However, Firishta, I, p. 42, simply mentions him Nath with no parentage but in true orthography of the name.
81. Gardezi, p. 200.
82. For township of Banaras and Yenaltigni's Campaign, see S. Jabir Raza, *The Ghaznavid expeditions in Haryana and U.P.* Proceeding U.P. History Congress, Varanasi, 1994.
83. Gardezi, p. 200; Baihaqi, pp. 381, 400.
84. Gardezi, p. 200; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 12, Firishta, I, p. 42.
85. There is some confusion regarding his name and parentage. Gardezi, p. 200, calls him Tilak b. Jhalan Baihaqi, p. 385, simply refers to him as Tilak, son of a barber. Elliot, vol II, p. 60, on the basis of one old manuscript of *Tabqat-i-Akbari* states that he was the son of Jaisan. However, it seems probable that the parental name Jhalan of Gardezi was changed into Jaisan and it further mistranscript as Huasin by the later Historians.
86. According to Alberuni Kashmir and Vatanasi were the two great seat of learning for Hindu Sciences during the eleventh century. Cf. *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 173.
87. Baihaqi, pp. 385-86.
88. Cf. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, Delhi 1982, Reprint 1986, sheet 1A-B.
89. Baihaqi, pp. m386-88.
90. *Idem*, pp. 383-84.
91. *Idem*, p. 384.
92. *Idem*, pp. 385, 387, 388.
93. *Idem*, pp. 400-01.
94. *Idem*, p. 410; Gardezi, p. 200, records that Tilak ordered to cut off one hand and ears of the prisoners while according to Nizamuddin I, p. 12, Tilak ordered the noses and the ears of the prisoners to be cut off.
95. For Jais and their relations with the Ghaznavids see S. Jabir Raza, *The Jais of Panjab and Sind: Their Settlements and Migrations*, in the edited book *The Jais*, ed. Dr. Vir Singh, vol. I, pp. 54, 64; *Idem*, *The Martial Jais: Their Conflict with the Ghaznavids*, in *The Jais* vol II, pp. 63-74; *Idem*, *passages on Jais in the Chachnama, Zainul-Akhar, and Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* Text and Translation, in *The Jais* vol II, pp. 43-52.
96. Gardezi, p. 200, was followed by Nizamuddin, I, p. 12, and Firishta, I, p. 42.
97. Baihaqi, pp. 409-10; Gardezi, p. 200.
98. Baihaqi, p. 456; To support Tilak's success in his career, Baihaqi quotes an Arabic proverb that every body gets an opportunity and he must avail of it.
99. Cf. Baihaqi, p. 384.
100. *Idem*, p. 386.
101. Mohammad Habib, op.cit., p. 96.
102. Al Maari, *Risalat ul Ghufan*, p. 153; Also M. Nazim, op.cit. p. 140 n. 7.
103. Bombaci, *Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan. Introduction to the excavations at Ghazni, East and West*, N.S. X11-2 (1959), pp. 19-20.
104. Al-Maari, p. 153.